875 were turned over to Greece and Yugoslavia, respectively, after the first World War; while Dimiter was from the section of Thrace which Bulgaria was forced to surrender. Since the teachers had such backgrounds it was no wonder that adorning one of the classrooms was a sign, "NEMA MIR DOKATO NEUILLY" or "There will be no peace as long as the Treaty of Neuilly is in force."

The director of the school was a vigorous woman with splendid preparation for her task. She told me on several occasions how disappointed she was that her teachers took so little interest in helping the peasants improve their way of life. They were supposed to spend Sunday afternoons visiting the homes of their pupils in an effort to advise parents in matters of child care and standards of hygiene. Actually, the teachers, being all too human, preferred to spend the week end in Sofia rather than reform the unenthusiastic adults.

[565] 527 659 The intelligentsia were usually seen in their glory at some great occasion such as the celebration of an important holiday. The event which caused most excitement during my six years of residence in Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon, heir apparent to the throne of his father, King Boris. The exercises which were held in Dragalevtsy four days after the royal birth in 1937 showed how the intellectuals worked hand in hand, since the school, the church, and the state were so closely allied.

[796] The crowd had to wait at least forty-five minutes for the priests from the monastery who were to help Father Sava with the liturgy of the *vodosvet,* or consecration of the holy water, whose sprinkling gave official religious recognition to the closing of the school year. Then the mayor began to speak the high-sounding phrases which the villagers loved to hear. He told them how significant for Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon.

> June Sixteenth [he said] will be written in golden letters in the history of Bulgaria. June Sixteenth marks the day when an heir was born to the throne of Bulgaria. Our school house has no name, so I recommend that we petition for the right to call our school "Prince Simeon II." The first Simeon who reigned a thousand years ago was called Simeon the Great. I feel sure that Simeon the Second will likewise go down in history as Simeon the Great.
>
> In honor of this great occasion, the Government has decreed that the marks of every student will be raised, so that no one will fail in any subject. [Hurrah!

● [871]

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Hurrah!] That's right; nobody will fail. No pupil will repeat the class next year! [Hurrah! Hurrah!] All deportment marks likewise will be raised and anyone who has been expelled from school will be accepted back on probation. The government is cancelling over a billion leva in unpaid taxes and is freeing thousands of prisoners . . . .

Before he finished he led the children, and such adults as would join, in further cheers for Prince Simeon, for King Boris, and for Queen Iovanna. After the school choir had sung the national anthem and the "Hymn to the King," all filed inside for the official graduation exercises. There were more patriotic songs and at least twenty declamations with such titles as "Three Days at the Battle of Shipka," "To our Teachers," "A Prayer to God," "I Like the Priest," "I am a Temperance Girl," and "Nature." Displays of the children's handwork, as well as these recitations, brought some recognition to the teachers who had worked behind the scenes.

The director in her remarks thanked the mayor and the priest profusely and the parents casually for the help they had rendered during the past year. When she was about to present the diplomas, such bedlam broke loose that few could hear the compliments she paid the brightest pupils, who had received as special awards from the mayor books on war and religion. The exercises concluded with the presentation of a large bouquet from the pupils to the school director, who politely accepted the flowers on behalf of all the teachers.

The intelligentsia just described had more importance than their village duties seemed to indicate. They were the channels through which the national state, the national church, and the national school system expressed themselves. No member of this select group was Dragalevtsy-born. Their high status rested not only upon the influence they wielded as representatives of powerful institutions, but also upon the fact that they were educated. Education, along with the patient accumulation of land and money, was one sound way of raising one's social position, and those who had persevered in its pursuit received due honor. As one father said to his son upon sending him to school: "If you don't study you will plow, sow, and work in the fields, and where will you get then?"

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godchild's wedding. This strange custom illustrated that where there is a *must*, such as *having* to have a godparent, there was a traditional method for correcting any irregularity.

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Another *must* for the children, at least from the government point of view, was school attendance. The child began his formal education at seven years of age. In the "good old days" much ceremony attended this event. The peasants called the teacher *"Kandilo,"* a candle, the one to light the path for the child entrusted to him. As education became more common, the old ceremonies died out. All that remained of that old ceremonial respect was the handful of flowers the children sometimes gathered in the fields for a favorite teacher.

In Turkish times, only boys attended school. Educational activity in Dragalevtsy, however, took a new lease on life with the completion of the excellent building in 1931, made financially possible by the help of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior. The school consisted of four primary grades and three classes which were termed the "pro-gymnasium." Boys and girls were supposed to complete the pro-gymnasium, though they could drop out as soon as they reached their fifteenth year. The director was in charge of all of the school's activity, under the supervision of the school inspectors.

The diagram on the following page illustrates the educational hierarchy of the country.

Few decisions were left to the local school authorities, whose duties had become largely administrative, in the sense of observing the regulations handed down from above. As the school director said, "Everything is controlled from the *Inspection*, though the teachers have much freedom in the classroom." Even this freedom was supervised. At the conclusion of each class the teacher had to go to the office and list the work taken up that hour, the questions asked, and assignments made. The inspector made surprise inspections of the health situation, the records of the director, and, if he chose, of the lesson notebooks of the school children. The purpose of this inspection was to check up and control, not to supervise constructively.

The school was supported financially by the Dragalevtsy *Obshtina*, though the salaries of the eight teachers were paid by the national

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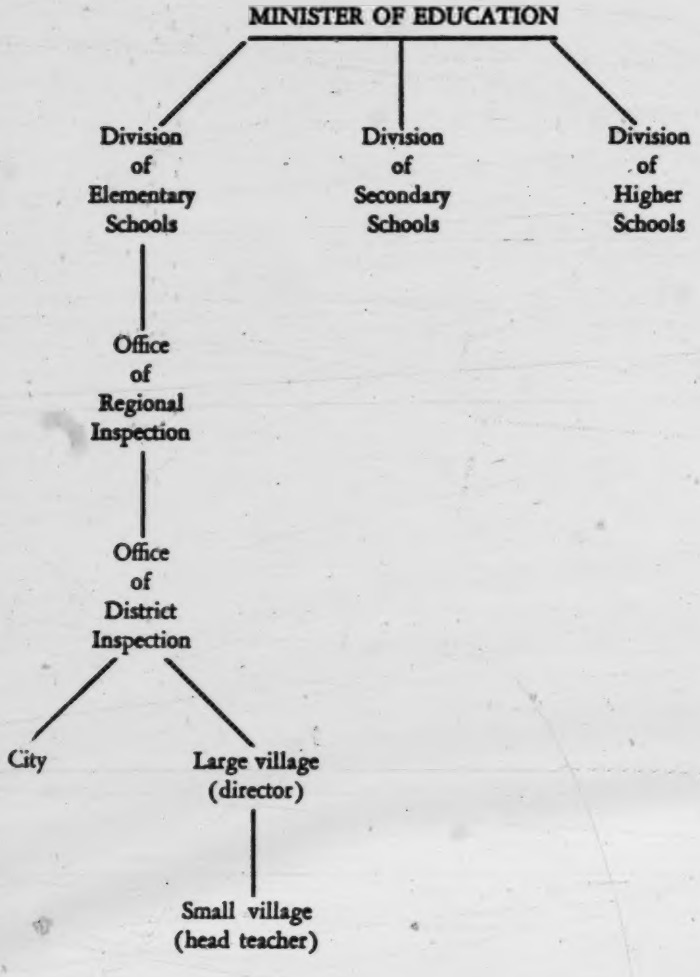

The Educational Hierarchy of Bulgaria as It Affected a Village Schoolteacher, 1937

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658 government through the Ministry of Education. Parents had no fee
871 to pay, unless the child continued his education in a gymnasium in Sofia.

[593] There was, the director said, a noticeable relationship between the
[861] type of home and success in school work. Uneducated parents did not provide good conditions for study, since the pupils had no tables on which to write, no quiet, and lived in unhygienic surroundings. The more intelligent parents did their best to remedy such defective conditions. Most of the children had a great desire to study, but unfortunately many parents killed this enthusiasm. They either sent their children to tend the cattle, or, if the student gave lessons as an excuse for not doing some task, the parent said, "You don't need all that stuff from books."

876 At times the teachers gave some of the poor but bright students garments, shoes, and caps. The students receiving the mark six (excellent) were taken free of charge on a trip to a theater in Sofia, were given a free bath at the public bathhouse, and a large bowl of soup in a Sofia restaurant. As the director said, "Prizes help a great deal to stimulate study, and those who do not attain them are very disappointed." Five or six times a year the teachers took the older pupils to Sofia to visit the zoological gardens, the museums, a monastery, and sometimes a movie theater.

871 A glance at the list of courses on page 135 shows how the subjects were distributed through the first seven years of school. The tendency had been to follow the conventional courses of Western Europe, without any real adaptation to the needs of the villagers.

872 The textbooks, uniform for the whole Sofia district, were chosen by the Ministry of Education. While most students bought their own paperback textbooks, the school had approximately $245 in its budget for a textbook loan library to aid the poor students. The teachers assigned written work at intervals; for instance, the teacher in history and geography would give homework every five or six lessons, the teacher in arithmetic every day. All students recited daily because of the small number in the class, but written tests and examinations were not employed to the extent they are in American schools. Near the end of the semester one written lesson was required in each

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CURRICULUM OF BULGARIAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (1937)

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Hours per week

Subject	Primary (Grades)				Pro-gymnasium (Classes)		
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III
1. Religion	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. Bulgarian Language, Reading	9	9	7	7	7	6	5
3. Storytelling	3	3	—	—	—	—	—
4. French, German, or English	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
5. Arithmetic	4	4	4	4	3	3	3
6. Practical Geometry	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
Geometric Drawing	—	—	—	—	1	2	2
7. Civics,	—	—	4	4	—	—	—
General, Bulgarian History	—	—	—	—	2	2	3
8. General, Bulgarian Geography and Civics	—	—	—	—	3	4	3
9. Natural Science, National Economy and Peasant Hygiene	—	—	3	3	—	—	—
Natural History, Physics, Chem., and Hygiene	—	—	—	—	3	4	3
10. Drawing and Handwork	2	2	3	3	4	4	4
11. Penmanship	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
12. Singing	1	1	1	1	2	2	1
13. Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Total hours per week per class:	22	22	26	26	29	30	28

872

subject, the date to be fixed by the teacher. Sometimes this was the only written test the class had during the course of that semester. At the end of the year there was a formal examination to help the teachers in judging the progress of the pupil.

It was the duty of the director to visit classes for purposes of supervision. She gave suggestions and occasionally taught a class to illustrate teaching techniques to less experienced teachers.

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Judging only from the deportment marks, which were perfect for all students, there was little or no trouble with discipline. The truth of the matter was, however, that in Bulgaria a student's deport-

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ment mark was written on his diploma, thus following him throughout life. Therefore teachers found it more of a trial to lower a student's conduct mark than to fail him scholastically. All discipline cases were sent to the director, who reprimanded the student or sent the child home to his parents. The law did not permit corporal punishment, although many parents would have been glad to give the director the right. The final step, to which the director seldom resorted, was to require the student to attend school in a neighboring village.

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There was little friction between the parents and the local school authorities, probably because the schools were a branch of the government and one seldom protested loudly against the government. If some trouble arose, parents complained to the school director, who passed the complaint on to the mayor.

There was nothing in Dragalevtsy, or in any other Bulgarian village, comparable to our Parent-Teacher Association. The very old peasants still regarded the government school as an outside and, therefore, slightly suspicious innovation—valuable for "the people of the world" perhaps, but yet to be proved indispensable for the village. Most of them agreed that the school widened the already existing difference in attitude between young and old. I once heard a good-humored disagreement between a mother and her twenty-five-year-old son. The woman had been explaining to me that she went to church to pray to God to help with the fields, to send rain and sunshine.

[593]

"But mother," interrupted the son impatiently, "the rain doesn't come from God."

"From where does it come then?"

The son sighed as though he were exhausted by endless repetition of a lesson to a stubborn child.

"From vapors up above, as the books tell us."

The old woman grinned undaunted.

"Well, God gives the vapors."

In spite of the suspicion toward anything new, the peasants were, on the whole, favorable toward education. While they slyly pointed out instances of unemployment among the intelligentsia, they were shrewd enough to see the economic advantages of formal schooling. Many villagers told me of a Dragalevtsy man who got a gymnasium

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(secondary school) education, found no work in Sofia, and came back to farm his land. The fact that he could survey his fields, keep his accounts, and do various other things more quickly and efficiently than his unschooled neighbors, had made him a living example of the benefits of education, as far as the Dragalevtsy farmers were concerned.

I had often heard both Bulgarians and foreigners say that children in Bulgarian villages did not know how to play. Though such a statement accurately describes the past, it was certainly becoming less true because of the growing influence of the school. Nevertheless, with the exception of certain games played in the pastures, children's group games were new to the village.

The older people said that fifty years ago there were almost no games; even these few were played only by men and boys while the women and girls always carried their knitting needles or distaffs with them. "The women sang while they worked and that was their game. The lonely shepherd boy had his *kaval* [flute]." Most of the old people had absolutely no recollection of games they played when young, which probably accounted for their unfriendly attitude toward children's games. One laconic old *baba* snapped: "The children throw stones at one another for a game."

There was much difference of opinion among the adults as to just what the children did in their playtime and with whom they played. A young man told me that children played together even if the families were unfriendly, but an older woman insisted that parents completely controlled their children's choice of playmates. The simplest way of getting at the truth was to talk to the children themselves. The children were used to seeing me and were uniformly friendly, often running to meet me as I came up the lane from the meadows. I had photographed many of them and knew their parents, so it was easy to get them to talk.

One solemn little group of five girls told me they were playing, which I took to mean that they were at leisure for the moment, for they were simply sitting on the ground by the stream trickling down the village street.

"What do you play?"

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759 school) training and worked for two years in a lying-in hospital. The midwife, who had difficulty in winning the co-operation of the old *babi,* could not set a charge for her services but had to take only what the women gave. The State paid the midwife the equivalent of $16 each month. There was a health committee, composed of the doctor as chairman, the priest, the director of the local school and the mayor. The midwife attended unofficially. This committee met once a month to consider the problems of village hygiene and sanitation and tried to enlist public support for the doctor. The county doctor came twice a year without advance warning to visit the village doctor for the purpose of seeing if her reports were made out properly, if she exercised suitable control of the merchandise, and if she gave the school children proper supervision.

544 Another impact, of an educational sort, upon the traditional way of life was the *Naroden Universitet,* or People's University. This consisted of a series of lectures in the schoolhouse on such topics as these:

1. "Our National Awakeners: A Patriotic Talk"—by a local schoolteacher.
2. "Problems and Purposes of the Zadruga"—by the local president of this agricultural group.
3. "The Insurance of Cattle"—by a veterinarian from Sofia.
4. "Alcohol and Effects"—by a medical man from Sofia.
5. "What Village Homes and Food Should Be Like"—by a different medical man from Sofia.
6. "Concerning Faith"—by a priest from Sofia.
7. "Concerning Tuberculosis"—by the local doctor.
8. "The Cleaning of Seed"—by the district *agronom.*
9. "The Significance and Service of the Producers' Cooperatives"—by a former attorney and by the Superintendent of Cooperatives of the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank.

The mayor encouraged the peasants to attend in the hope that they would be inspired to improve their living conditions or become more loyal to the government.

● 871 656 Another educational group affected by the intrusion of the State was the school board. Formerly the peasants themselves controlled the board's membership, but it had become an ex officio body composed

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almost entirely of the intelligentsia. The peasants no longer had much to say about the employment of teachers, or what or how they taught. They and their children accepted what the national government, through its local representatives, provided for them. They took it or left it, but mostly took it.

The national government, along with its other activities, maintained a close connection with the national church. Before the liberation of Bulgaria, the practice arose of having three or five members act as a church board in each village. Even if there happened to be no church building, this group was elected to see about the construction of one. Such a board followed the familistic practice of expecting elders to manage local affairs. After the growth of the national state the board was continued, but subjected to outside control. In Dragalevtsy it consisted of five people: the priest (who was the president), a treasurer, and three other village men who acted as a control committee to audit the work of the old board which they succeeded at the end of its two-year term. In the past the biennial election was held on a Sunday morning immediately after church. But the government took care to see that only those men who had the right to vote *politically* were eligible to elect the church board from a list of candidates prepared by the priest. As the priest prepared his slate with the help of the older people in the village, his choices usually met with the approval of the majority of men.

A candidate had to be an Orthodox Christian by baptism, should never have been in a lawsuit, should not be a drunkard, thief, and the like, nor an atheist opposed to the church. The elections had to be approved by the Sofia Metropolitan, or the high church court, thus removing the authority still further from the village. An office of an elective nature such as this carried a great deal of honor with it. The duties of the office were not burdensome because the church possessed no lands to be administered. Traditionally the church board was supposed to aid in enforcement of Sabbath observance, but members were not particularly zealous in carrying out this obligation. The priest had been having trouble of late with one board member who had become such a tippler that the board's prestige was suffering. If some question needed to be decided, as was the case about five or six times

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of the population in 1926 have been returning to Turkey at a greatly accelerated pace.

There are striking anthropological contrasts between the Bulgarian peasant and the Southern white. The most marked of these is the peasant's close identification with a folk culture which is characterized by a consciousness of kind, established patterns of habit and thought, artifacts identified with that culture alone, and a strong exercise of social control. There is also uniformity of dress, agricultural method, and social values.

Among the Southern whites the Appalachian-Ozark area alone possesses the characteristics of a folk, for its people are closely knit together, have mountain handicrafts of which they are proud,[33] and, although differing in economic status, tend to conform to cultural patterns handed from the past. On the contrary, the tenant farmer may have his share of superstitions, folk remedies, and traditional attitudes, but he lacks "consciousness of kind" which would identify him with a folk culture.[34]

The four social institutions which I wish to mention briefly but which I shall not compare in detail are the family, education, religion, and government.[35]

596 105

The Bulgarian family is patriarchal, children are valued as economic assets; there is a strong kinship feeling even unto the third and fourth generation. Marriage is still an arrangement between two families under the sole control of the church. Family disorganization in the form of desertion or divorce is practically unknown; illegitimacy rare.

871 105

There is compulsory education to the fourteenth year in Bulgaria. However, the law is seldom invoked because the parents have recognized the economic value of education. That is why Bulgaria is the most literate country in the Balkans, a testimony to the high value the peasants place upon education and the rigid social control at work in the compact villages. If some

[33] W. T. Couch, *op. cit.*, chapter 15—The Handicrafts by Allen H. Eaten; chapter 19—Appalachian America by J. Worley Hatcher; chapter 26—Folk and Folklore by B. A. Botkin.

[34] The folk culture is quite different from a regional or Southern culture such as Odum describes at length in his Chapter IX in *Southern Regions* on Institutions and Folkways. The Bulgarian peasant is primarily identified with the village culture and secondarily with newer national culture in process of development. The Southern white is identified with a regional culture but not with a folk culture.

[35] Because of space limitations I omitted a section dealing with Psychological Comparisons. This would have compared the race prejudice and regional "inferiority complex" of the Southerner with the nationalism and sensitiveness to criticism of the Bulgarian. Bulgaria, defeated in the World War, has its Lost Cause as does the South. Bulgarians, like Southerners, have gained the reputation for conservatism and hospitality. On the other hand, industry is more a Bulgarian than a Southern trait.

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poorer peasant wanted to keep his children home from school he would have to face the withering scorn of his neighbors. I cannot help contrasting this situation with that found in the South where truancy is a major educational problem arising from the mobility of the population, the distance between home and school, and the low place afforded education in the scale of social values.

Most young Bulgarian men after their eighteenth year are called upon to serve their country as *trudovatsi* (members of the Labor Corps) or as soldiers. The time they spend in the barracks not only widens their social contacts and broadens their outlook but also educates them in the formal sense to the extent that they take advantage of courses offered. In America the Civilians' Conservation Corps is roughly analogous, differing in that it is on a voluntary basis, pays the youth for work done, and is restricted to those young men from families of a low economic level.

The Bulgarian peasant has a dualistic view of the universe. First, there are the forces of good which must be propitiated. The priest is God's intermediary and can intervene with him in the event of a drought, serious illness in the family, or sterility in the wife. The priest christens the baby and sanctifies the marriage tie. In the event of death he performs the liturgy to insure the soul's passage into a heaven thought of in very realistic but not enthusiastic terms.

There are also the forces of evil whom it pays well to placate. A few old women in every village are the "priestesses of superstition" whose incantations work wonders and drive off the Evil Eye. Peasants do not discuss this white magic when the priest is around, so complete is the dichotomy between the Good and the Bad. Religion as represented by the church consists of form and ceremony rather than a challenge to daily living. Furthermore, the Bulgarian peasant derives little emotional release from an "other worldly" rapture indulged in on Sundays. He is too secure, too stolid, too practical for that. On the contrary, the insecurity of the Southern white is attested to by the increasing numbers adhering to the excitable Pentecostal type of religious expression.[*]

We hear much in the South today about suffrage reforms, abolition of the poll tax, government paternalism, and the failure of democratic processes. Since the same problems are being faced in Bulgaria a comparison may prove helpful.

Fifty years ago the villages were governed by elders, the influential heads of the larger families. After Bulgaria's Liberation from Turkey in 1878 the

[*] John B. Holt, Religious Secession and Class in the Southeast. A paper read before the Section on Sociology of Religion, annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, 1939.

B: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

barism. „We warned you in our recent letters, by order of our respected bishop, that you were to employ only the Greek language in the holy church of your village, as this is the language sanctified by the apostles and our holy fathers, and the language in which the holy and grand name of our Saviour should be glorified. Our letters and our recommendations, however, seem to have been disregarded by some of your people, who dare use the Bulgarian language in the church services. We are duty bound to give you strict instructions and to require that you should not allow any more like profanation of the holy service and liturgy. The Bulgarian language is not recognized by the church, on the contrary, it is forbidden and rejected by the Holy Synod and by the Great Christian Church..." (November 10, 1903). 563

A country Greek woman teacher wrote to the bishop: „Yesterday I sent the country guard of Pleven[1]) to fetch the three boys who refused to come by order of their parents. The same negative answer was received from Egri-Déré. I am left with only two girls and am at sea as to what to do. I don't doubt that you at least would send me two comforting words." (September 19, 1911.[2])

We found it appropriate to draw attention to the above letters and information, which, though coming from only one of the Bulgarian districts (that of Drama), would be sufficiently instructive of the methods which all Greek church authorities applied throughout the Bulgarian lands.

35. A Comparison Between Bulgarian and Greek Schools, 1904. The noted French writer, Victor Berard,[3]) who is a friend of the Greeks, reports the following: „It would be sufficient to compare the Bulgarian schools in Macedonia to the other schools there, in order to notice the difference immediately. The Greeks, who 563 871

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[1]) A purely Bulgarian village in the county of Drama.

[2]) Georgieff & Shishkoff, La Macédoine Orientale du Sud. II. Recherches et documents, 1918; Philippople.

[3]) Victor Berard, Pro Macedonia, Paris, 1904, p. 40; cf. D. Misheff Die Wahrheit über Makedonien, Bern, 1918, pp. 37-38.

 [Western Thrace]

563 have applied our old methods in training the students of their
871 secondary schools in that literature and non-partizan culture, which gave France the „honest" men of the 18th century, have filled to-day the Greek museum with babblers and politicians, physicians, deputies, ministers and lawyers. The curriculum of the Bulgarian gymnasias (high schools) in Macedonia is entirely different. The Bulgarian high schools give the Macedonians useful knowledge in the letters and sciences. They train them to know the present day world and to take account of actualities. They make them citizens of the 20th century, who are able to take care of themselves and to do justice and service to their own country.

„One single visit to a Bulgarian and to a Greek school will bring out the difference. In the first school the student handles a test tube, in the other he breaks his head over Demosthenes and the fallen warriors of the Marathon battlefield.

563 „The Greeks despise the Macedonian Bulgarian students in the same manner, like our gentlemen „classics" in our liceums used to despise the modern workers at one time. The Greek considers the Macedonian still as a slave and this awful contempt will continue to embarass the future of the Hellens for a long time.

„The Greeks assume an eternal monopoly on the culture and ideas of the East. They consider themselves the sole fighters for civilization and success and imagine themselves to be the only support of Europe against Asia. They see Bulgaria as she was 25 years ago: the competitor of the Cossack and the carrier of ignorance and barbarism. Obsessed by this imaginary right of monopoly, they entertain most delightful hopes... and when friends of theirs (among whom I have the right to consider myself) advise them to take note of Bulgarian culture and of the idea of Macedonia, they should not shrug their shoulders or raise offensive objections. If you talk to an Athenian about Bulgarians (and this I know from personal experience) without applying the contemptuous adjectives of „rough" and „wild", he would think that you were either a „Bulgarophile" or that you were bribed."

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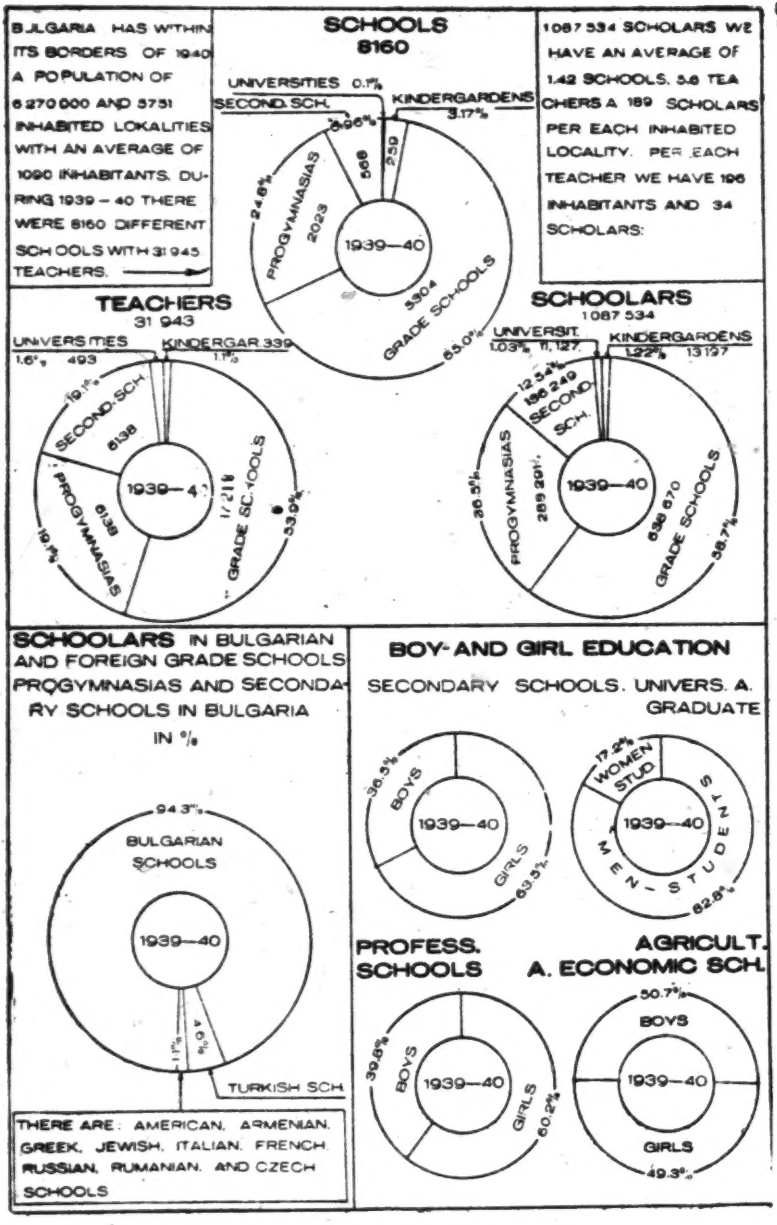
BULGARIA HAS WITHIN ITS BORDERS OF 1940 A POPULATION OF 6 270 000 AND 5731 INHABITED LOKALITIES WITH AN AVERAGE OF 1090 INHABITANTS. DURING 1939 – 40 THERE WERE 8160 DIFFERENT SCHOOLS WITH 31 945 TEACHERS.
SCHOOLS 8160
UNIVERSITIES 0.1%
SECOND. SCH.
KINDERGARDENS 3.17%
3.96%
566
2.59
24.8%
PROGYMNASIAS
2023
1939—40
3904
GRADE SCHOOLS
65.0%
1087 534 SCHOLARS WE HAVE AN AVERAGE OF 1.42 SCHOOLS. 5.6 TEACHERS A 189 SCHOLARS PER EACH INHABITED LOCALITY. PER EACH TEACHER WE HAVE 196 INHABITANTS AND 34 SCHOLARS:
TEACHERS 31 943
UNIVERSITIES 1.6% 493
KINDERGAR 339 1.1%
19.1%
SECOND. SCH.
6138
1939—40
PROGYMNASIAS
6138
19.1%
GRADE SCHOOLS
53.0%
SCHOOLARS 1087 534
UNIVERSIT. 1.03% 11,127
KINDERGARDENS 1.22% 13197
12.54%
136 249
SECOND. SCH.
1939—40
26.5%
PROGYMNASIAS
289 291
636 670
GRADE SCHOOLS
58.7%
SCHOOLARS IN BULGARIAN AND FOREIGN GRADE SCHOOLS PROGYMNASIAS AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN BULGARIA IN %
94.3%
BULGARIAN SCHOOLS
1939—40
TURKISH SCH
THERE ARE: AMERICAN, ARMENIAN, GREEK, JEWISH, ITALIAN, FRENCH, RUSSIAN, RUMANIAN, AND CZECH SCHOOLS
BOY- AND GIRL EDUCATION
SECONDARY SCHOOLS. UNIVERS. A. GRADUATE
36.5%
BOYS
1939—40
GIRLS
63.5%
17.2%
WOMEN STUD
1939—40
MEN – STUDENTS
82.8%
PROFESS. SCHOOLS
AGRICULT. A. ECONOMIC SCH.
39.8%
BOYS
1939—40
GIRLS
60.2%
50.7%
BOYS
1939—40
GIRLS
49.3%

Fig. 21.

466 We will take as an example the year 1939. During this year the followind work was accomplished:

ground work for new roads	435.5 km.
stone laying for new roads	249.7 "
extensions and repairs	213.5 "
rectifications or modifications of river beds	13.4 "
retain walls	8.1 "
repair of retain walls	1.4 "

total number of men-days 1.230.808.

Compulsory labour was responsible for building most of the difficult railroad lines during recent years and especially

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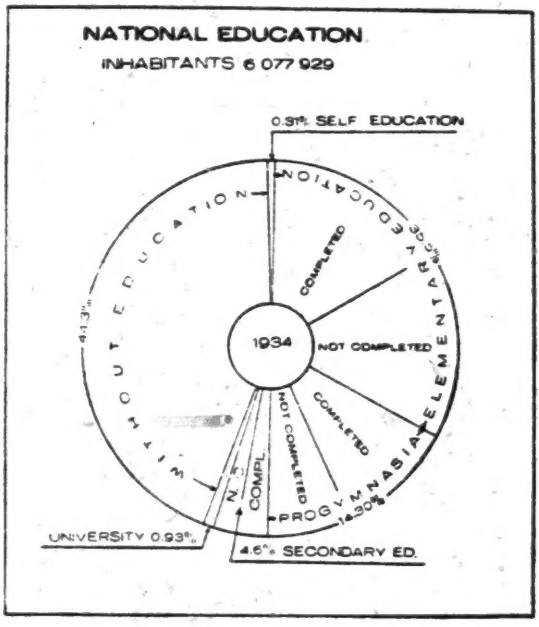

Fig. 22.

466 during the war period. The largest part, for example, of the construction of the railroad running along the Strouma valley in the direction of Western Thrace or Salonica, as well as the railroad line which goes to Macedonia, through difficult ground work and numerous tunnels with artificial equipment, have been accomplished by the labour of draftees.

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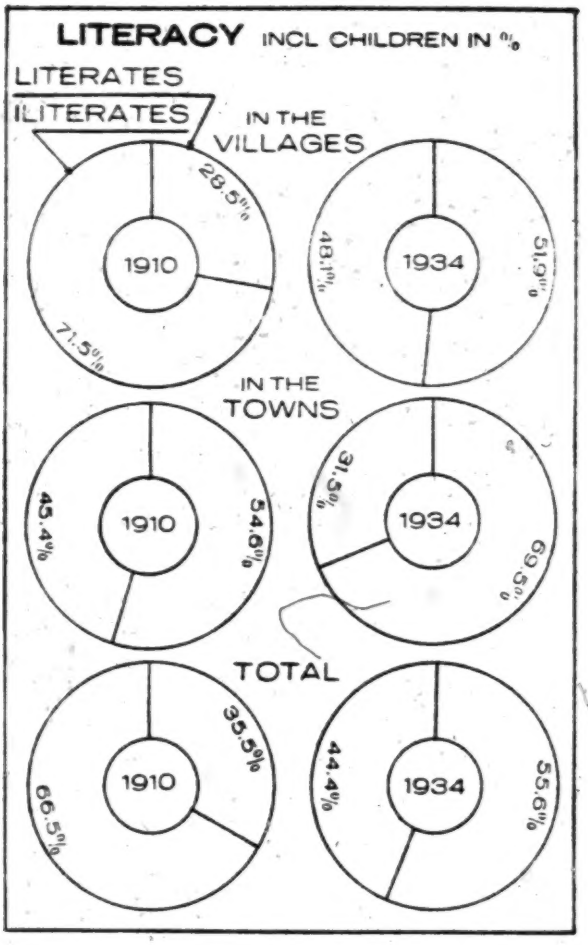

Fig. 23.

50. Literacy and Education. If we exclude children under 7 the average percentage would be 68.4 for those who could read and write in Bulgaria. 81% were city residents and 64.8% peasants. If we include all children, then the average for those who could read and write would be as follows:

	1910	*1934*
	%	%
For the rural population	28.5	51.9
For the city population	54.6	69.5
General	33.5	55.6

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Particular features of public instruction in schools are given in the drawings (fig. 21-23). Bulgaria could properly boast of a vast system of instruction dating from the time of Turkish political and Greek spiritual dominion and oppression. This national system of public instruction penetrated down to the lowest strata of the population and helped the Bulgarian people to preserve their existence for centuries past.

51. Bulgarian Reading Rooms. The Bulgarian reading rooms (libraries) are a national institution for education, which were started during the Turkish domination (1393-1878), when the people guarded and developed their enlightenment with their own means. The national reading rooms to-day are organized in a National Union of Reading Rooms, supported by the State. Supplementing the information given in the drawings (Fig. 24) we will give the following data:

The books in the reading rooms are distributed, according to their topics and subject matter, in the following manner for 1938:

	Village reading rooms		*City reading rooms*	
	Number of books	*%*	*Number of books*	*%*
Art and literature	679,885	47.7	269,898	45.3
General works	210,330	14.8	88,987	14.9
Medecine, agriculture, household economy	124,606	8.8	32,704	5.5
History, geography, biography	114,333	8.0	51,501	8.6
Social science	100,415	7.0	60,154	10.1
Mathematics, natural history	32,677	2.3	20,053	3.3
Religion	32,644	2.3	13,401	2.2
Philosophy	30,613	2.2	19,128	3.2
Others	98,705	6.9	40,998	6.9
Total	1,424,208	100.0	596,824	100.0

We have not included in the above statement the books in the municipal libraries, in the large national libraries, supported by the state, as well as in the libraries of the universities and other learned institutions.

52. Cooperative Activity in Bulgaria We may safely say that Bulgaria is a country of cooperative organizations. This tendency in the economic life of the country is inherited too from the long submission to Turkish authority (1393-1878), which was devoid of any

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

EDUCATION

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In Bulgaria, as in other Balkan countries, complaints have been heard that the spread of education has resulted in the creation of a plethora of office-seekers. The reason for this is that while an excellent instruction is available, the training of character and of personality are neglected. Colleges, technical schools, and higher educational establishments have all been dominated by the idea that all education should be subordinated to place-hunting and not to the preparation of a more efficient citizenship in the life of the community. As a result restrictive measures are being taken to curtail the number of colleges and impede the admission of students to the higher schools and the universities. At present, students coming from rural districts are caught up in the whirlpool of urbanising influences and spurn the idea of returning to their native environment. They take on a false scale of values and, unable to secure public posts, fall by the way and become the easy victims of political propaganda. This could be remedied by making rural life more attractive, and by permeating all the educational institutions with the conception that an educated farmer is by far a more valuable asset to the community than either the public official or the urban worker. It is imperative for Bulgaria to evolve a system of education which will nurture a peasant-citizenry really in love with village life and the countryside, the same as has been achieved in Denmark. This is all the more necessary, as the transformation in Agriculture which is contemplated and which is equally an essential need, can best be achieved by better educated farmers, and by intensifying and modernising agriculture, increased employment would be provided for the educated. It would appear that "more education" ought to be the slogan in vogue, rather than the policy actually adopted. If

there were more educated persons in the countryside there would be less inducement for the educated to congregate in towns. 871 369

It is an erroneous view to believe that Bulgaria is suffering from overeducation. What Bulgarians have a right to complain of is rather of a maldistribution of educated forces. It was the political system which rendered politics the best and easiest career to earn a livelihood, and thereby attracted the intellectuals to this mode of life. Politicians in their turn fostered this tendency since they utilised this intellectual proletariat from which to recruit their partisans. 871

M. Iordan Tabakov in his book "The political situation of Bulgaria after June 9", affirms that on questioning fifteen deputies elected while Stambuliiski was Prime Minister, it was found that eight had not read the Constitution and seven had read it partly, and yet all had taken the oath to govern after its spirit and to defend it! None knew what the capitals of Czechoslovakia and Switzerland were. When asked whether they considered themselves fit to be deputies, some admitted that they were not, for they had not received the requisite education, while some considered themselves worthy of the posts they held since "the people had chosen them". Dr. D. Gabrovski in his Illiterate Bulgaria," affirms that: the percentage of illiterate voters in 1920 was 52 %, and that the statistics of 1928 show that the percentage of illiterates in the country was 40 %. Many who have been to school, and had later lived in an uncultured environment could no longer read. Of the total population, only 2000 to 3000 read books, and about 30,000 nothing else save newspapers. School attendance was not very satisfactory. In the year 1929-30 there were 727,670 children of school going age, but of these only 670,872 attended school, while another 37,139 dropped off during the course of the year. Those who 871 871 646 212 871

11: Logic S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

871 should have attended the secondary school (progymnasia) aged 12 to 14 were 185,394 but of these 74,885 did not attend and some 12,433 attended only partly. Only 98,076 completed the course, and of the latter 62,855 were successful at their examinations. During the same year 5,016 college graduates applied for entry to the University, of these 4,392 were admitted and 624 failed to pass the tests, and this, according to Dr. Gabrovski, was a conclusive proof that there was too little education in Bulgaria, since out of some 700,000 attending the elementary schools less than 4,500 complete their secondary education.

The Minister of Education explained on June 11, 1932, the causes of non-attendance at school. Of the 56,788 children who had absented themselves from the elementary schools in the year 1929—30, 22,777 were living at places difficult of access and there were 1999 abnormal children. Turkish children provided the greatest percentage of non-attendance (26%), that relative to the Bulgarian being 5·5%. Deputy G. P. Ghenov speaking at the same date, affirmed that the annual contingent of graduates from colleges and higher training schools numbered about 10,000 of those only some 1500 are admitted to the University and the rest are unable to find situations. College graduates consider themselves as intellectuals and refuse to become farmers or craftsmen. In another speech 871 647 delivered in March 1934, he laid stress on the fact that youths graduating at the University were not sure about securing Government employ; thus for sixty to eighty qualifying for judges, only four or five posts are available and the number of candidates to the public services thus increases yearly. Politicians take advantage of the situation, and secure recruits for their parties by promising posts to those who have not been appointed public functionaries.

If the number of aspirants to Government employ is

EDUCATION

now so greatly in excess of the available posts, it is not owing to the system of education, but rather owing to the fact that all the intellectuals from the Dobrudja, Macedonia, and Thrace have been driven to seek refuge in Bulgaria, and through the League of Nations abstaining from interfering on behalf of the Bulgarian minorities in the adjoining Balkan countries in order to secure the repatriation of these people.

Education is free and obligatory for all children between the ages of seven and fourteen. Approximately, ⅓ of the population is attending schools and about 8% of the children liable to compulsory obligation evade it for some reason or other. The urban population provides proportionally a greater percentage of school children, 25% as against 75% for the rural. The number of girls attending school is as large as that of boys. The following table shows the number of various educational establishments functioning during the year 1932 - 3, the number of professors and students:

		Pupils	Teachers
Kindergarten Schools	155	7,649	174
Elementary "	5518	705,443	18,478
Secondary " (progymnasia)	1933	207,795	7,189
Colleges "	105	42,217	2,901
Special "	25	2,854	408
Professional "	321	25,261	1,821
Higher training	4	667	55
" " Colleges	7	10,419	500
Scools for abnormal chirdren	5	252	42
	8,073	1,002,555	30,758

Of the 8073 educational establishment, 7093 were State schools and 980 private institutions, practically all belonging to various ethnic minorities and foreign missions, the number of pupils attending them, was 82,342 and that of the teaching staff 2,705. These last two figures are included in the total shown in the above table. The

[875] The number of women teachers is larger than that of men teachers. There is one school to every 738 inhabitants and this number is altogether inadequate To remedy this shortage of buildings, half of the pupils attend school in the morning from 8 to 12 a. m. and the other half in the afternoon, from 2 to 6 p. m. It was reported in the Sobranye on April 1, 1924, that only 39% of the school-buildings were fit to serve as such, and that some 220,000 children had to study in stuffy classrooms in which there was not sufficient air. Such adverse conditions naturally accounted for the abnormal spread of tuberculosis among school children. Deputy M. Stanev speaking in the Sobranye on June 11, 1932 stated that according to the inquiry [1647] conducted by Dr. Rumenov, 60% of the children attending the first elementary class, were healthy and 40% tuberculous, but in the third elementary class, the percentage of the latter had increased to 62%, and in that of the first preparatory class to 73%. In the Stara-Zagora region, it was reported by the school authorities that 48% of all the children were tuberculous.

875 One of the probable reasons for the spread of tuberculosis were the teachers, who were wretchedly underpaid and were not able to keep fit on their paltry stipends. Half of the public teachers received a salary of about 1700 leva monthly, but this was not all, for a large percentage of them were obliged to pay commissions to various political intercessors in order to obtain their posts, and had to refund to their protectors part of their slender emoluments. The minimum cost of living for a family of four members, each requiring 3000 calories a day was according to a scientific analysis made in Dr. Djidrov's *Stopanski Arhive*, 2563 leva per month for food only, light and heat necessitated an expenditure of 587, shoes and clothing 1320, rent 1500, and other needs 1130, or a total per month of 7100 leva. The emoluments offered

faculty of the Sofia University. Besides these there are some 120 practical schools of Agriculture which all children of farmers after completing their studies at the secondary schools, are compelled to attend during two years, if they do not take up another profession. The period of attendance is from October to April and the curriculum is most appropriate to local coditions, but unfortunately it is not taken advantage of by the population. Special courses are also conducted during the winter months by trained agronomist, who travel from village to village and organise courses of lectures for a few weeks at a time and at which attendance is obligatory for all youths up to 18, and girls up to the age of 16. There are excellent technical and professional schools which provide practical training in all arts and crafts, but the technical and agricultural schools, have been dominated too by the idea of a Government job, and very often youths who have completed their studies in them are absorbed in the public services. Owing to the extreme tolerance shown by the Bulgarian Government, foreign schools of all denominations and nationalities are allowed to function. The French religious missions have established such institutions in most of the larger towns, there are also German and Italian schools. The Americans keep up their traditional educational policy in the Near East by maintaining what may be deemed as model educational establishments, one for boys at Simeonovo, at the outskirts of Sofia, and another for girls at Lovetch. Another school due to American initiative is the Pordim Folk School, founded by the late Dr. Edward Haskell and his wife. Its object was to supply advice to the peasantry, teaching them hygiene, giving them practical demonstrations in poultry raising, dairy farming, cattle breeding etc. Its attempt fo uplift the peasantry in the Pordim district has met with an immense success which does honour to its philanthropic founders.

A PSIHOLOGICAL ESSAY

Owing to the lack of funds, the activities of these reading rooms, of which 1,208 are in rural districts, were rather circumscribed, their stock of books was reported to be 847,426, and the books purchased during the year numbered only 127,757.

The new educational reforms comtemplate the suppression of about two thirds of the existing colleges so as to impede access to the higher training establishments and the University. The colleges will be replaced by practical schools, after the German „real schule", a system which according to Prof. Yorga has concurred in dehumanising the youth of Germany. Only those students who posses exceptional endowments will be allowed to complete their college training and qualify for a University education.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL ESSAY

All who have come in close touch with the Bulgarian people have been impressed by such characteristic traits as their diligence, assiduousness, their fondness of labour and their persevering and indefatigable devotion to the land which they till. Frugal and abstemious in the extreme, the Bulgarian peasant provides for his modest needs from the produce of his farm. This form of life which tends to make him self-sufficing and independent of his neighhours has rendered him self-reliant and self-centred to an extreme degree and has militated strongly against the development of social virtues in him. He is capable of submitting to extreme privations, he scoffs at physical suffering, and is almost insensible to pain. He detests affectation and bragging, and takes pride only in collective achievements, national or military. In this he displays a striking similarity to the Japanese whom he

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Bulgaria EEI

to the cause of Bulgarian independence, and to the resurrection of the Bulgarian language as a medium of literary expression, gave the Church universally recognized prestige. After 1878, when national freedom was gained, the Orthodox Church was a State institution, and the members of its Hierarchy were public officials. A portion of the national budget was set aside to support the Church, which in addition owned considerable property largely derived from bequests. The case was comparable with that of a large state university in the United States. Salaries of professors in such a university are paid out of the state treasury; but it may own not inconsiderable wealth in its own right, is permitted to collect fees from students and to charge for other services rendered. When one considers the rural character of Bulgaria and the poverty of most of its 6,000,000-odd people, the financial strength of Orthodoxy reflected in such magnificent structures as the Archiepiscopal Palace in Sofia is genuinely impressive. Clergymen of all ranks officiated on public occasions; and, though the spirituality of the Bulgarian people may well have been far from deep, they prized the Church as the primary agency of the national culture.

Bulgarian education enjoyed a well merited repute, and the theological schools established after 1878 ranked high among the country's institutions of higher learning. The training given consisted in the main of what we should call "general education," theology being taught as a field of specialization. The result was that many leading citizens were graduates of these schools. Religious instruction, normally by laymen, was likewise included in the curricula of elementary and secondary schools. About 4,000 churches served the people, under the direction of the Holy Synod. This body also fostered breadth of view, and held membership in the World Council of Churches prior to the war. On the whole, the religious situation

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Bulgaria EE1

was idyllic, in spite of a rather constant exchange of uncomplimentary remarks with the Greeks.

The first approach to the Church by the Communists was made rather gingerly and was not unfriendly. They seemed, indeed, to regard this venerable institution as a political instrument worth keeping in repair. True enough, religious instruction was banned from the public schools, and the control of marriage legislation was reserved to the State. Previously the Church not only had married aspirants to wedlock, but had maintained an elaborate system of marriage counseling and of divorce courts—courts with rules far more lenient than those recognized by either Catholic or conservative Protestant Churches in Western Europe. But the State budget continued to provide for the support of the clergy, and the prosecution of priests and prelates for alleged subversive activities was minimal.

A drastic change took place when the Communist Party assumed complete control during December, 1947, following the return of Georgi Dimitrov from Russia. The Constitution signed on the fourth day of that month dealt with religion in the customary Soviet manner: guaranteeing freedom of conscience and religion, and specifically endorsing freedom of worship; on the other hand, decreeing separation of Church and State, and prohibiting political organizations based on religious belief and political activities by the Churches. During February, 1949, statutes were decreed which outlined in detail the relationship of the Churches to the government. Control over ecclesiastical matters was lodged in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which could hold the recognized authorities of each Church responsible. All such authorities had to be Bulgarian citizens, and to register with the Ministry, which might insist upon the removal from office of any clergyman it deemed undesirable. These laws, which subjected the Church to the

1: Niederle--127 E-5 1911 E/Slavic Peoples E16
Bulgaria EE1
S.P. B. 796 101

They have settled by preference in the Rhodope (Grk., Rodope), where they constitute a rather large group between Plovdiv and Salonica. They are met with here and there to the north of the Balkans in the region of Lovech, Pleven (Plevna), especially between the Vid and Panega Rivers, to the south of Pleven. In the Kingdom of Bulgaria their number has greatly diminished; for, as a result of their Turkish sympathies, they have since 1878 been in perpetual conflict with the other Bulgars. The latest statistics numbered 20,644 of them in Bulgaria, of whom 17,055 were in the district of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and 2,837 in that of Pleven.

S.P. B. [871] 212

From the viewpoint of education, the Bulgars are not very much advanced, which is explained by the difficult conditions in which they have lived, deprived of all the advantages of civilization. They are now making an effort to make up for lost time. According to the latest statistics the number of literate persons in the principality was an average of 28.4%. The districts may be placed in the following order:

Rusc 38.5%; Shumla 35.9%; Varna 34%; Trnovo /205/ 34%; Plovdiv (Philippopolis) 29.6%; Burgas 29.4%; Sofia 28.8%; Stara Zagora 28.3%; Pleven 23.1%; Kustendil 20.1%; Vidin 19.8%; Vratsa 19%. The highest degree of education is found naturally in the regions of the great cities: 60% at Sofia, Ruse, and Varna; 49% at Plovdiv; 47% at Kotel and at Shumla; 37% at Kazanluk. The least literate areas are those of Radomir (20%), Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad) (19%), Kyzilagatch (19%), Berkovitsa (16%), Kula (14%), Belogradchik (13%), Ferdinandovo (13%).

S.P. B. 197 101

S 38. Internal Differentation.--The Bulgars are divided into three groups from the point of view of language.

1). That of the western dialect: it is bounded on the east by a line which starts from the confluence of the Vid and the Danube and runs towards Salonica across the regions of Nikopol, Pleven, Lovech, Teteven, Pirdop, Novo Selo, Panagyurishte, Ikhtiman, Chepino, Rezlog, Nevrokop, Melnik, Petrich, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Seres, and Salonica.

2). The eastern group is divided into two branches:

A. That of the northeast where the people bear the general name of Zagortsi (Mountaineers), or Khertsoi*, or Poliantsi*.

B. That of the southeast, or branch of the Rhodope, whose